Pedagogical Implications OF Contrastive Analysis

(A CASE STUDY)

L. Raghumani Singh

MANIPUR STUDENTS' EMPORIUM

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L. RAGHUMANI SINGH
Head of the Department of English
D.M. College of Arts & Commerce,
Imphal, Manipur.

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(A Case Study)

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PREFACE

The small book is a humble effort of a practising language teacher to find some help from same quarter in the endeavour to find a solution to the problem of teaching English as a second language. English is taught and has been taught to the students in Manipur who speak diverse languages although the principal language is Manipuri, Meitei lon. In spite of the best effort of teachers, everybody thinks that the standard of English in our Schools and Colleges has declined considerably. An average graduate finds it difficult to write an application correctly and the average students do not possess the expected standard of learing in English. Many factors must be there ; but, the way the language is taught in Schools and Colleges must be a very important factor for the decline in the standard of learning. As a teacher, who has been teaching the language right from the beginning of his career as a teacher, the only dream has been to find some means for the solution of the problem. When I was in CIEFL as a teacher, Fellow, I was interested in this problem and wrote a small dissertation for Applied Linguistics for the award of the diploma. When I am associated with the SIE (now SCERT) for the teachers' training programme of the School teachers in Manipur, I realise the multifarious problems our teachers face in Schools and Colleges of Manipur. Although my knowledge in this area is very limited, my desire to do something has been unlimited. That is why I embarked on the humble plan of writing a small book recalling some of the materials I used at CIEFL, Hyderabad.

Personally I think that, at least, in the area of phonology English teaching in Manipur has been a disaster. Most of us are aware that an average graduate cannot follow the language spoken in the radio and T.V. Something appears to be wrong somewhere. My humble suggestion is that interference from the mother tongue is a very important factor for it. The interference seems to be mainly in the areas of phonology and syntax. In this small book I have endeavoured to have a short discourse on the theoretical aspect of Contrastive Analysis before. I come up with the suggestion that Contrastive Analysis will be helpful in language teaching in Manipur.

I have selected the area of Time. Tense and Aspect for, Contrastive Analysis of English and Manipuri for the case study not because this is the only area where interference comes, but because this is an area where modern English grammarians are making drastic changes in the old concept of traditional grammar and it will be of interest to both teachers and students alike. I have made references to some tribal languages as well, thinking that students will be more encouraged to study other languages also. It is to be admitted that my knowledge of those languages does not warrant any attempt at a Contrastive study of English and Tribal languages for which a mastery of the languages is a must. However, I felt tempted to provoke better scholars to pursue the course for which I made some passing references to these languages.

I think that phonology is an area where a systematic Contrastive Analysis will be of great help in teaching English in Manipur. I have not been able to dwell on this area in detail although I have pointed out some cases.

Any writer of such a book will be indebted to numerous scholars and teachers in the field. My indebtedness to a host of Scholars and teachers in the field of language teaching is naturally enormous. I have freely quoted from a number of books of eminent Scholars to whom I owe an apology. For the Tangkhul language, I consulted Shri A. Maipak Singh my colleague in the Deptt. of English and two of my students, Mr. P, K. Wilson Rock of Somdal and Mr. A. S. Henreikhui of Nagaram. For the Kuki and Mizo languages, Prof. Benjamin Gangte of the Deptt. of History gave me considerable help for which I remain indebted to him. Prof. A. S, Colney of the Deptt. of Mizo helped me with the Mizo language. It is not only the help but the friendliness with which they extended help to me that makes me all the more indebted. Although I availed myself of their expertise, any mistake whatsoever in the book is entirely mine.

With so much limited knowledge, I must not have embarked on such a work had not my wife, who is also in the Deptt. of English given me encouragement throughout the course of my work. Here and there I had consultation with her and she has been my constant strength. I owe no less indebtedness to the publishers Messrs Manipur Students Emporium, Paona Bazar and the Proprietor Shri L. Thanil Singh, without whose help and encouragement, the book might not have ceme out at all.

It was with more enthusiasm and less scholarship that I wrote the book. Mistakes of many types may be everywhere. Suggestions for modi ication and improvement will be highly appreciated. Should abler scholars and educationists go on producing improved works, I shall feel rewarded for the humble beginning I have made in this part of the world in the field of language teaching.

L. R. Singh

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

1. INTRODUCTION

Contrastive Analysis (C. A.) is, in essence, comparative linguistics on a large scale. It takes up for study specific grammatical categories in two or more languages and subjects them to close analysis in a systematic manner. A careful and systemetic comparison of the native language of the learner (L_1) and the target language (L_2) shows the areas of difference between the two. This will help the language teacher in determining the areas of difficulties for the learner. So, the aim of a pedagically-oriented contrastive analysis is to suggest to the language teacher what items in the target language—sound patterns, grammatical structures, lexical items etc. are likely to cause learning problems for the learners. In fact, contrastive analysis is based on the hypothesis that the L_1 habits of the learner are likely to adversely affect his acquisition of L_2 habits where the systems of L_2 are different from those of L_1, since he tends to transfer the L_1 systems to L_2—both while trying to understand an utterance in L_2 and also while trying to express himself in L_2 although the problems in the later situation are

more difficult. Contrastive analysis will explain the differences between the two languages. "......Explanatory power should be the ultimate goal of all contrastive linguists, even if the circumstances are such that explanatory insights are difficult to attain".

'Paul Van Buren—'

in Techniques in Applied Longuistics, Vol. 3 ed. Allen and Pit Corder.

2. A BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Contrastive analysis has seen many ups and downs in its life. It has also a pretty long life in one form or the other. In language teaching, we have to do with at least two languages : the mother tongue (L_1) and the target language (L_2). There may be similarities as well as difference in the two languages. So for as their morphological characteristics are concerned, but be strikingly different in respect of their syllable structure. Determining the formal similarities and differences between languages is something that has been central to lingustic studies in the past, notably in 19th century Europe, under the title of 'comparative philology'. The object of study at the time was, however, to establish historical or genetic connections between languages or the basis of their manifest similarities, or more generally correspondances, particularly between the forms of words having similar

meanings a cognate word forms. From these studies developed the notion of language families.

The historical development of two languages from some single common source is no guarantee that their formal characteristics will in all or indeed most respects, be similar. Unrelated languages may resemble each other in respect of some features of their systematic structure, whilst genetically related languages may differ quite markedly in the same features. So languages can be classified with different criteria—phonological, syntactic, morphological & so on. Another criterion of interest to language teaching which has been used for classifying languages is the preferred sequential ordering of the main functional elements of their sentences ; subject, main verb & object Typological studies of human language have as their ultimate objectives the discovery of the "boundaries' of the variability within which human language manifests itself formally. 'Comparative linguistics is therefore an important part of the study of human language."[2]

It is an observed fact that some particular language is easier for the speaker of another language to learn than some other second language. One reason is that the two languages share more features in common at various levels (the mother tongue and the other language) It is the function of applied comparative linguistic studies to find out what these features are. It follows that in as much as the two relevant languages share certain features, there is a sense in which the learner a ready

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2. Pet Corder—Introducing Applied Linguistics" P 227.

knows some part of the target langnage. So. it was a useful way of looking at language learning to regard it as the task of discovering the differences between the mother tongue and the target language, i. e. what the learner doesn't know. The linguistic syllabus, then, is simply this set of differences. This is essentially the position adopted by Lado (1957) in one of the earliest serious works on Applied Comparative Linguistics. He says :

"We assume that the student who comes in contact with a foreign language will find some features of it quite easy and other extremely difficult. Those elements that are similar to his native anguage will be simple for him and those elements that are different will be difficult". In other words, in the opinion of Lado, difference and difficulty are synonymous. So, at one time, it was regarded that contrastive analysis which could show the areas of difference/difficulty was the key to success for language teaching/learning process. From its heyday, however contrastive analysis also fell to the worst days.

3. DIFFERENT VIEWS ABOUT CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS :—

(a) (i) The view of Lado was also supported by many others. Among them was also DiPictro in his "Language structures in Contrast"[3] So, their position was that contrastive analysis results in a prediction of problem areas in second/foreign language learning. Therefore results of contrastive analysis must be taken into consi-

3. *Dipictro—"Language structures in contrast" Newbusy House, Rowley, Mass, 1971.*

deration in the preparation of teaching materials and training of teachers.

(ii) W. Haas also holds the view that C. A. is a necessity for the teaching of English as second/foreign language. "What is required seems to be a large number of specialised comparative studies in English/Bengali, English/Japanese, English/Hanse and so on, attacking each of these tasks with a series of monographs on the phonemes, the prosodic features, syllabic structure, phonological markers the structure of words the principal types of phrase and so on. In this way, we should eventually overcome the handicap which results from dispensing a uniform English for foreigners. At present, we tend to treat our students rather like a physiotherapist, who having to treat one patient with a pain in his back, another with a pain in his leg and a third with a pain in his neck tries to put all through the same set of exercises"[4]

(iii) One of the pioneers in the field C. C. Fries also advocated the use of C.A. He pointed out "......... only with sound materials based upon an adequate descriptive analysis of both the language to be studied and the native language of the student......can an adult make the maximum progress toward the satisfactory mastery of a foreign language"[5] Fries emphasised not only the need for such a detailed analysis, but also that of organising their results into an adequate system for teaching

4. *W. Haas—"Research Problems" in "English Teaching abroad and the British Universities" P. 50.*

5. *Fries—"Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language".*

along with practice materials useful to the foreign leanner "to master the sound system, the strucure and the most useful lexical material of the foreign language"[6]

The method developed by Lado-Fries School was widely practised. The sytematic comparison of definite sets of linguistic units in two or more languages has elucidated problems connected with interference in L² teaching. It has helped in the production of suitable text books for L² learness and in the field of translation.

(iv) Again there is the view fran a school of psychology, the behaviousists. In their view, learning is either aided or interfered with, by the habits and responses that have already been acquired. This carry over from the earlier learring process to the new one is termed transfer. "If responses are identical, facilitation is obtained ....; if responses are different inteference is obtained ...."[7]. So, the assumption is that Language learning is an area in which the theory is pertinent, for L_1 and the target language (L_2) have common as well as dissimilar features. Applied contrastive linguistics discovers similarities that are evident on the surface & those that are underlying ones. And more significantly, it predicts, difficulties that may be encountered by L² learners; it reveals differences or contrasts which lead to such p ediction.

(b) (i) The Lado-Fries approach ran into rough weather. People started questioning the validity of the

7. *Ed. Gibson—"A sxsiematic application of the concep's os brunalisation & Differentiation to Verbal Learning", Psychology Review 1940.*

predictive power of contrastive analysis. (Since, in this chapter, I am dealing with the historical background, I will not take up the individual criticism. I will make a detailed study of these criticisms and scrutinise their validity in a later section For the time being my attempt will be to build up the line of development and retardation of contrastive analysis, from this stage. However, it is to be pointed out that) the criticism against the predictive power of C. A. seems to be quite effective and other advocates of C. A. come forward with a second line of defence. Prominent among them is J. C. Catford. He admits that contrastive analysis does not have the predictive role, but the results of error analysis may be explained in terms of contrastive analysis. Hence contrastive analysis has an explanatory role in language teaching. "In relation to L_2 teaching, the most important role of C.A. or, rather of the data obtained by C.A., is explanatory rather than predictive."[8] So, the contention is that it may not be the magical key that opens every closed door in the area of foreign language teaching; but at least it lets in the light through windows that remain shut otherwise.

(ii) Another advocate of this theory is Paul Van Buren, who points out that the justification for contras-

8. *J.C. Catford—"Conrrastive Area & Language Teaching" Monograph, series an Language and Linguistics No. 21, 19th Annual Roned Table ed, J.E. ALATIS, Georgetown University.*
9. *Paul Van Buren—in Techniques in Applied Linguistics. Vol 3.*

tive analysis is to be found in its explanatory power. "We do claim, however, that explanatory power should be the ultimate goal of all contrastive linguists, even if the circumstances are such that exp anatory insights are difficult to attain."[9] However, many modern second language teaching experts come out against C. A. Many of them seem to think that C.A. is completely useless in the field of language teaching.

(c) (i) There are many language teaching experts who hold this view that C. A. has only a marginal role in Language teaching. W. R. Lee points out that C. A. fails in accurately predicting all areas of difficulty in a language learning situation, and it cannot explain all errors also. Hence, it has at best a marginal role in language teaching.[10]

(ii) Palmer also seems to suggest that C. A. is not practicable. "I am not myself in favour, as many people are, of making a comparison of English with some African or Asian Language because it seems that the two are not comparable"[11]

(iii) The attack against C. A. is also from other quarters. Pit Corder, Newmark and Reibel etc. also hold the same view that C.A. is not of much help to language teaching and learning.

So, at present, these three positions represent the major attitudes toward C. A. But it is not all. There are

10. WRlee—"Thought in Conirastive Linguistics in the contest of language teaching in Alatis, 1968.

11. F.R. Palmer—"English abroad and the British Universities" ed by H.G. Wasment.

pitched battles also naturally. In many quarters there have been suggestions and counter-suggestions. Now, I will make an attempt to analyse the validity of the claims by the advocates of C. A. and also the validity of the attacks on C. A. by taking the views of some of the prominent persons in the field.

4. C. A. AND CHARGES AGAINST IT : AN ANALYSIS :—

(i) To begin with, the predictive power of contrastive analysis has been questioned. Few people can hold out the attack against this particular aspect. Lado advanced the argument that "......we can predict and describe the patterns that will cause difficulty in learning and those that will not cause difficulty, by comparing systematically the language and culture to be learned with the native language and culture of the student".[12] Some people make an outright rejection of the view. Yamuna Kachru writes—"It is a fact that contrastive analysis cannot predict accurately and exahaustively what errors will be made by a language learner'.[13] But there are people who hold a more moderate view. Pit Corder for

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12. *R. LADO—'Linguistics across culture', AnnArbor, Midngan, 1957.*
13. *Y. Kachru—"Defining 'Equivalence' in Contrastive Analysis Causative Constructions in English and South Asian Languages" CIEFL, Bul.etin No. 12, 1976.*

example thinks that at the phonological level C. A. has usefulness. "These fundamental differences in the two types of rhythm in languages (stress-timed and syllable timed languages) have important consequences in pronunciation learning; they permit us to make a fairly safe predictions about the learniug tasks of speakers of one or the other type".[14] However, most experts agree that at the syntactic level, the predictions are much less accurate. J. G. Bruton attempts to account for it by saying that "........the problems in this area, while presumably limited in number, are so numerous as almost to defy analysis". It might be because transfer at the syntactic level does not function in exactly the same way as it does at the level of phonology; that is to say, whereas it might be possible to maintain that the occurrence of some sound-segments, sound patterns, etc. in the learner's (L_1) would make the learning of the same or similar items in L_2 easy, it cannot be said in the same way that occurrence of a certain syntctic pattern in one's L_1 necessarily facilitates one's control of the similar pattern in L_2. Frank Palmer points out in this connection—"Research is required to find out whether certain kinds of linguistic knowledge in a language facilitate the acquisition of similar knowledge in another. For instance how relevant is it that a language has a passive or how relevant that the passive involves features similar to that of English when the pupil tries to learn the English passive ?"[15]

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14. S. Pitcorder—'Introducing Applied Linguistics Penguin Education, Page 254.

(ii) On the other hand, Paul Van Buren raises some questions against the assumptions of Lado in his theory.[16] Lado presents the following propositions in his book— "Linguistics across culture' (1957)

(a) "In the comparison between native and foreign language lies the key to ease or difficulty in foreign language learning.

(b) The most effective language teaching materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner.

(c) The teacher who has made a comparison of the foreign language with the native language of the students will know better what the real learning problems are and can better provide for teaching them."

Buren raises three questions—(1) What do we mean by a scientific description of language ? (2) What exactly is involved in the process of comparing two (or more) languages ? (3) How do we locate the best structural description of the languages involved ?

He is raising these points of technical difficulty Clearly a description involving two languages and the contrasts or similarity that hold between them presup poses a good many additional assumptions. In attempting

15. F.R. Palmer—"Language and the Teaching of English' in 'Linguistics at Large', Graneda Publishing Ltd. 1973.

16. Paul Van Buren—'Contrastive Analysis' Techniques in Applied Linguistics, ed. Allen & Pit Corder.

to describe the relation between the languages we have entered the realm of 'postulated linguistic univerals', or common categories'. Without being aware of this fact, we cannot hope to set up satisfactory contrastive procedures. It is logically impossible to compare any two entities without using the same frame of reference. The matter brings in further complication and in the process the real issue at hand — the real language teaching problem is side tracked.

(iii) Another point has been mentioned by A. Baird— "The precise effect of bilingualism on a person's speech varies with a great many other factors, some of which might be called extralinguistic because they lie beyond the structural differences of the languages, or even the lexical inadequacies."

(iv) So, the attack on contrastive ana'ysis is on both theoretical and practical grounds.

(a) It has been pointed out that the theory is based on a wrong view of the learners' mistakes. According to the critics of C, A., it is the ignorance of L_2 patterns and not L_1 interference that is the real cause of the errors that the learners make.

(b) Secondly, it is pointed out that C. A. is based on a wrong view of language structure;

(c) Thirdly; C. A. encourages a piecemeal theory of learning. These are the charges against C.A. on the theoretical plane.

On the practical plane, there are some charges against contrastive analysis.—

(a) It ranges from saying that C A. does not predict all errors to some moderate thinking that the predictions of C. A. do not always come true ;

(b) It does not account for all the errors that the learners make, and

(c) It does not give the language teacher any significant new information about the learners' errors that he did not know through experience.

5. IN DEFENCE OF C. A.

I have pointed out the theories put forward by the advocates of C. A. and I have further pointed out the various attacks on C. A. and its gradual shifting of position. But, it does not mean that C. A. is really defeneeless. The defence can be made in two ways—(i) by attacking the criticisms levelled against C.A. and (ii) by pointing out the merits of C. A. itself. In spite of all its weaknesses, it is not without its own merits:—

(i) I will try to analyse the criticism of W. R. Lee first. The view of Lee is that C. A. treats language, as if it is a "collection of separable and self-sufficient parts" So, he thinks that "however much there is to be said for partial comparisons of languages in order to discover the nature of certain difficulties, it is unsound to regard language as consisting on the one hand of difficult parts or aspects and on the other hand of easy ones, the former to be taught and the latter to be left to look after themselves"[17]

17. *W.R. Lee—"Thoughts on contrastive linguistics in the contest of language teaching" in Alatis, 1968.*

The criticism is a mistaken view. He is right in pointing out that language is not an inventory of parts. Logically it is unsound to break language into components. He is also right in saying that no items in a language are inherently 'easy' or 'difficult'. But, it does not mean that contrastive analysis will teach only the difficult ones and the easy one will be discarded. The real point is that C. A. has to distinguish the areas of difficulty and those areas should be given due emphasis in teaching.

Another point is that in language teaching situation fragmentation of language into different parts is inevitable. It is not possible to teach the whole language at once. Language learning is a continuous process going on throughout life and there is absolutely no disagreement on the view that only selected portions from the language can be taught. It means that breaking up of language into bits is an inescapable reality in foreign language teaching.

(ii) Pit Corder points out that C. A, has not been able to provide the language teacher with any new and useful information. He writes—"Teachers have not always been impressed by this contribution from the linguist for the reason that their practical experience has usually already shown them where these difficulties lie and they have not felt that the contribution of the linguist has provided them with any significantly new information."[18]

18. *Pit Corder—"The significance of learners' Errors" IRAL, V-161—170, 1967.*

But, this contention may be valid only in the case of experienced and competent teachers, and it is a matter of common knowledge that teachers of great sophistication are rare in the field of foreign language teaching. In countries like India, where such experienced and sophisticated teachers are lacking C. A. can be of great help to the teachers.

One more point is to be noted. The charge that C. A. cannot provide any new information which the teachers have not known is not a sound one. Even if the teachers have known the areas which the findings of C. A. are related, it is a conformation. The knowledge of these teachers is founded on valid ground since C. A. also pinpoints the same area.

(iii) Another charge of Pit Corder is against the theory of Lado about ease and difficulty. Lado points out that 'those elements that are similar to his native language will be simple for him (learner) and those elements that are different will be difficult".

Pit Corder contends that this is by no means self-evident. He mentions Nickel in support of his view that difference may not necessarily be difficuity. "We cannot assert that any particular feature of the target language which differs from the mother tongue is necessarily inherently difficult to learn. Indeed there is evidence that something totally 'new' or different may prove easier to master than something which is only slightly different; for example, where a very similar sound exists in the two languages but in different phonetic environments, there may be a greater learning problem than in the case

of a totally new sound"[19] However, he does not totally ignore the claim of C. A. He admits its claim to some extent. "We must nevertheless assume that taken overall the time needed to learn a second language reflects the degree of differences there is between it and the mother tongue".[20]

(iv) Newmark and Reibel attacks C. A. on two aspects. (a) In the first place, their argument is that errors which C. A. points out to be from L_1 interference are not really so. In their opinion, the real cause of such error is the ignorance of the L_2 system. 'Our account is something like this. A person knows how to speak one language say his native one. Now he tries to speak another one; but in his early stages of learning the new one, there are many things he has not yet learned to do; that is, he is grossly undertrained in the new one. But he is induced to perform ('perform' may mean understand, speak, read or write) in that new one by an external teacher or by his internal desire to say something. What can he do other than use what he already knows to make up for what he does not know ? To an observer who knows the target language, the learner will seem to be substituting the native habits for target habits. But from the learner's points of view, all he is doing is the best he can to fill in his gaps of training he refers for help to what he already knows. The problem of ignorance and the solution to the problem is simply more and better training in the target language,

19. *S. P. Corder—"Introducing Applied Longuistics" Penguin Education 1973.*

20. *ibid.*

rather than systematic drill at the points of contrast between the two languages in order to combat interference"[21]

In spite of the impressive argument Newmark and Reibel fail to understand that the teacher uses the pattern of the target language only after he has taught that pattern. In no case, should a teacher induce a student to perform in a foreign language before teaching that part. Moreover, C. A. suggests one of the probable factors for the students' inability to learn the particular pattern. Could it not be that in some of these cases it is the pattern in the L_1 that has caused problems for learners'.

(v) Another charge of Newmark and Reibel is that C. A. supports a wrong theory of learning—learning a language "One bit at a time". But, this arises out of their misconception of the language teaching situation on the one hand and of the nature of C. A. on the other. They argue that if the theory that one learns a language one bit at a time were correct, it would be impossible to account for a child's mastery of the structures of his native language within a short period of time, and also an adult's commendable command of the new language within what is certainly a short span of time when the complexity of the language is taken into account.

But, this is the one which can be answered in the same way as part of Lee's argument— Not only cutting language into units, but also teaching one unit at a time is a pedagogical inevitability.

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21. *Newmark & Reibel—"Necessity and sufficiency in Language Learning" IRAL, VI, 3, 145—161, 1968.*

However, it is to be mentioned that C.A. is neutral with regard to any particular language teaching methodology, it does not in itself prescribe any particular approach to language teaching, C. A. for pedagogical uses provides us with a differential grammar, how thus grammar is to be taught is not within the province of C. A. For example, C. A, can tell us that in learning the structure of English 'S+V+Adj', a Manipuri learner will have difficulty because in Manipuri in such construction, the verbal root is almost invariably combined with the adjectival root forming an adjectival verb The predicted error of the learner is a construction like 'S+Adj' But, how should it be taught is not within the province of C. A. It does not support auy particular language teaching technique.

(vi) Regarding the attack on the predictive power of contrastive analysis, part of the answer is given by Pit Corder himself. Again in case of syntactic aspect, we cannot totally ignore the claim of C. A. However it is true that there is not complete accuracy in all the prediction of C. A, But, it does not mean that all predictions of C. A. are false. All the critics of C. A. who have argued that C.A. has very little predictive power have based their charge on the actual performance of the learners. But, performance is not the reflection of all the problems of the learners. Jackquety Schachter[22] found from error analysis that contrary to the prediction of C. A. Chinese and Japanese students made fewer

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22. *I Schechter—"An Error in error analysis" Language Learning, XXIV, 2,205—214, 1974.*

mistakes in their use of English relative clauses than Persian and Arabic students. But, what really happened was that Persian and Arabic students produced more relative clauses whereas Chinese and Japanese students avoided them and used them only when they were sure of being correct. Therefore the claim that the predictions of C. A. scarcely come true cannot be sustained on the basis of learners' performance. One has also to look at the comprehension of the students in order to bring up such a charge, since as Schachter says, 'C. A. a priori is neutral between comprehension and production." No one has done it yet; therefore in the absence of satisfactory evidence, one cannot in a conclusive way reject the predictive power of C. A. This however does not mean that it is given 'the benefit of doubt' to use a legal jargon. In certain cases, its predictive power is unquestionable,

(vii) In the phonological sphere, it is admitted by many that it has its predictive power.

(viii) Another attack on C.A. that of A. Afolayan[23] that C. A. does not take into account the linguistic problems inherent in the target language is meaningless. He points out that both the Yoruba learner of English and the British child learning English would face the problems that lead to the spelling of 'forty' as *'fourty' and the use of *'hurted' as the past tense of 'hurt'. He calls it the general linguistic problem.

23. *A. Afolayan—"Contrastive Linguistics and the Teaching of English as a second or Foreign Language" in ELT Vol. XXV, No. 3 June, 1971.*

But, it is to be clearly noted that errors have other sources like idiosyncratic features within the target language as spelling of 'forty which is not within the scope of contrastive analysis. Afolayan misunderstands the scope of C. A.—C. A. can account for errors which are due to L_1 interference alone. Hence, his charge against C. A. is unfounded.

6. WHY SO MUCH CRITICISM

In spite of the defence for C. A. there is still one more question unanswered. If C. A. can be defended that is all right: but when one is assailed so much something must be there for it. I will try to make an analysis of the reason.

It is clear that C. A. fails to inspire confidence to all pedagogists today several factors are responsibie for it. Some of these factors are certainly internal and some external.

(1) One of the internal factors is the admitted complexity in the comparison of languages. Any comparison should be based on a sound linguistic theory. At the moment, in spite of the claims of linguists, such a sound and reliable theory is not forthcoming.

(2) We have also to admit that the predictions of C. A. may not always be accurate. Although there is an exaggeration in the charges against C. A. we must not deny that C. A. is not the magical key.

The external factors can be listed as follows ;

(1) Both language teachers and linguists are not very sure about the pedagogical application of linguistics on language teaching.

(2) We are not very sure about the nature of language acquisition. Psychologists have not been able to provide a significant insight into the nature and process of this aspect specially the second/foreign language acquiston. Moreover, it has not been clearly explained how L_1 interference takes place in L_2 acquisition.

These are some factors which contribute to the overall distrust of the pedagogical implication of C. A.

7. SUGGESTIONS FROM DIFFERENT QUARTERS—

Different suggestions have been put forward by many experts for C. A. some of them put forward completely new approaches.

7. (1) Yamuna Kachru in her article comes forward with the plea for establishing cross—linguistic equivalences. "To the extent that nations such as 'transfer' and 'interference' have any validity in psychology, it is reasonable to assume that both the following play crucial roles in a learners' successive hypotheses about the target language ; the limited data from the target language he is exposed to, and his knowledge of his first language. It is also reasonable to assume that the most plausible way in which this knowledge is used is in attempting to form

hypotheses about equivalences between the native and the target language systems, of course, this is an empirical question and can be resolved by experimentation."[24] She further points out that 'in order to establish cross linguistic equivalences, serious research in the areas of what have come to be known as rules of conversation and pragmatics are as important as deep structures and transformational rules'. She supports the view that serious research in this direction will result in a definition of what is meant by functional equivalence, which, in turn will result in defining translation equivalence more precisely, she hopes that the results of such comparisons are extremely valuable for building advanced level communicative competence in English.

7. (2) B. N. Patnaik suggests the following connection with the application of C. A. for language teaching.

(a) In the language textbooks at the end of every fine lessons or so, we can have an additional set of language exercises which can be largely based on those findings of C. A. that are relevant at that stage.

(b) Students' work-books can be prepared on the basis of the findings of C. A."[25]

24. *Y. Kachru — "Defining 'Equivalence' in Contrastive Analysis: Causative constructions in English and South Asian Languages" CIDPL Bulletin No. 12, 1976.*

25. *B. N. Patnaik—Contrastive Analysis and its pedagogic implications: CIEFL Bulletin Vol, 12, 1976.*

(c) He suggests that materials for (bridge texts, remedial grammars etc) for remedial courses which should be organised at the interval of second year, sixth year and eighth year of an eight-year course, can be based on the findings of C. A.

(d) "A part of the language question paper can be devoted to testing the learner's command of those items which C. A. has identified as potential learning problem".

7. (3) I fully endorse the view of Patnaik although I would increase the number of remedial courses to four. I would prefer remedial course after every second year of the course.

Another point is that for my own part, I do not like inclusion of some questions for testing the findings of C. A. as a regular feature. In fact, inclusion of a particular item in the question paper is not preferable. It forms the so called stock qnestion. But, it can be included sometimes—once in the first examination once somewhere but not in a regular cycle. Regular appearance of a particular feature in the questfon paper is against the very foundation of testing.

8. C. A. IN THE CONTEXT OF MANIPUR :—

8. (1) So far, I have concentrated on the theoretical aspect of the pedagogical implication of C. A. I devoted more time and space to it keeping in view that a general theoretical background will be more important

However, I did not avoid illustration wherever possible. I am trying to avoid much discussion on the practical utility of C. A. in the context of Manipur (since, 'Manipuri' being no so conversant to many people the proof of my findings may not have so much impact as from the theoretical discussion). However, I feel that C. A. has a great pedagogic implication for a Manipnri Speaker learning English. Although a contrastive analysis of all the areas in the two languages have not been carried out in detail, a rough comparison shows its great implication, Now, I will try to show how C, A. will be pedagogically useful by illustrating from some areas of syntax and phonology of Manipuri and English.

In this connection it will be interesting to note how an English learner of Manipuri may learn the language for which there will be ample evidence in "The Linguistic Survey of India".[26]

8. (2) I will begin my analysis with a little study of syntax of both English and Manipuri.

It will be interesting to begin with a very common sentence among Manipuri students sometimes even upto the undergraduate level. (a) To the question '*Who is there'?* the usual answer is—* '*I am*'. Here again I will cite to situations—(i) Suppose somebody calls one from outside the house, the one inside generally asks a question—'Who are you ?' The tendency of most Manipuri students (will be) is to give the answer—* 'I am'. (ii) When some body is dimly seen in the dark in the distance—there

26, G, A. Creirson—"Linguissic Survey of India" Vol. III Part III. Motilal Banarsides, Delhi,

may be one question—'Who is there ?' or 'Who are you?' The usual answer to this is—* 'I am'. This is quite common. The expected answer is, of course "It is me", "It is I", or "It is so and so" etc. But, it does not happen in most cases. And the usual answer is—* 'I am'.

(b) Another mistake which many young learners make is the sentence—"He good", "She tall", "James intalligent" etc. In this case, very often it is at the earlier stage of learning.

(c) The subject verb inversion of interrogative sentence is another major area of mistake even at the higher level. Sentences like—"Where you are going ?" "You are going ?" "She is coming ?" etc,

(d) Omission of article is another frequent mistake

8. (3) The source of the error is not difficult to trace, A proper C. A. can solve the problem. The syntactic feature of Manipuri sentences will show it.

(a) In the first case—* "I am"—the nature of the Manipuri verb equivalent 'be' is the source of the error. The Manipuri verb is almost always a combination of one verbal root and the 'be' verb equivalent or an adjectival root with the 'be-verb' equivalent. The verb does not exist alone, If it cannot be affixed to any verbal or adjectival root, it is attached to the noun or pronoun There is no system of introductory 'it' or 'there'. So, the use of the introductory 'it' or 'there' is ruled out.

The following examples will show the verbal root and 'be-verb' equivalent combination.

e. g. English   Manipuri

/aina
(i) I read (a/the) book.   / ai laairik (paaba oi) paai
1 2 3 4 5

(Ai or aina=1=I; 2=book; (3=reading 4=be;) 5=read.

English   Manipuri

/ Maana
(ii) He / She drinks water—   / Maa ising thak-i /
/ 1 2 3 /
(thakpa+oi)
4 5

(1) maana/maa=he/she
(2) ising =water
(3) thak-i =drink/drinks.
(4) thakpa =drinking.
(5) oi =be

(ii) In case, the 'be verb' is to be alone with the subject, it is attached to the subject, e. g. The following examples show it—

Who is he ? = He is John.

English = Manipuri
(i) He is John = / John ni / =(John+be).
1 2
(1) =John.
(2) =be.

Note : In Manipuri transcription the vowel symbols are as follows—IPA My transcription / IPA My transcription

IPA	My transcription	IPA	My transcription
/ a /	/ aa /	/ ɪ /	/ i /
/ a /	/ a /		

(ii) It is me = / ai ni / 1=I ; 2=be
1 2

(iii) It is him/her = / maa ni / 1=he/she
1 2 2=be

(iv) It is you = / nang ni / (1) you; (2) be

The source of the error is in this feature. C. A. will help in finding many more errors. Since, introductory 'it' or 'there' is ruled out, no wonder that they use the sentence —* 'I am'.

(b) In the case of adjective, in Manipuri, predicative adjective becomes a kind of verbal adjective. The adjectival root is combined with the root of the 'be verb equivalent : Together they function as verb but qualifying the noun or pronoun. In case of attributive adjective, it can exist alone. The following examples will illustrate in point.

English Manipuri

(i) A good boy reads hard. —/ aphaba angaangna
1 2
kanna paai /
3 4

1=good ; 2=boy ; 3=hard ; 4=read/reads.

(ii) He is a good boy —/maa aphaba angangni/
1 2 3 4

1=he ; 2=good ; 3=boy ; 4=be

(iii) He is good =maa phai (aphaba+oi)
1 2
(1) He ; (2) good+be

(iv) She is tall. =/maa wangi/ (awangba+oi)
1 2
(1) she ; (2) tall+be

This is the reason why there is the tendency of using subject+adjective.

(c) From these examples, we can deduce that the structure of a Manipuri sentance may be the following—

(i) S+V ; (ii) S+O+V ; etc. The Manipuri verb is almost always in the last part of the sentence. It may be—(iii) S+O+V, (iv) S+Oi+Od+A+V etc. It is true to interrogative sentence also. The assertion or interrogation depends on the inflection of the verb. e. g.

English	Manipuri
(i) He reads a book	—/maa laairik paai / *he book read*
(ii) Does he read a book ?	=/maa laairik paabraa ? *he book read+question inflection*

English	Manipuri
(ii a) He is reading a book	—/maa laairik paari / *he book reading+be*
(ii b) Is he reading a book ?	=/maa lairik paaribraa ? / *he book read+question inflection)*

So, these is no question of subject verb inversion in Manipuri.

But in imperative sentences students hardly make mistakes e.g.

English	Manipuri
go	=/catlo/(going+be)
come	/laaklo/(coming+be)

(d) Manipuri has no article system sometimes we use the numeral adjective 'one' for 'a/an' and the demonstrative adjective "that" for 'the'. So, it is not surprising when students often omit the articles while they write in English.

8.4. This is only a brief analysis of the differences between the two languages. My idea is to show how C.A. will be able to show the root of the errors of the learners of English if their mother tongue is Manipuri.

8. 5. In this connection, I mentioned that an English speaker learning Manipuri may make mistake. A cursery glance at the English translation of the Manipuri language specimen in the Linguistic Survey of India[27] shows that the word-for-word English rendering of Manipuri shows some features like the following—

Manipuri	English
(i) aina	me+by *[28]

In fact, there is no passive from in Manipuri. '—na' (/na/) is a nominative marker which has become almost optional nowadays. Formerly, it was optional only for intransitive verbs. But, now except in a few cases, it has become optional for most verbs.

27. *G. A. Grierson—"Linguistic Survey of India; Vol. III, Part III (P. 30-*...*)*

28. *'Linguistic Survey of India' Vol. III, Part III.*

e. g.— English	Manipuri
(i) I read a/the book	=/ai/aina laairik paai/ 1, 2 1, 2=I
(ii) He/She sings a song	=/man/maana isai saki/ 1 2 {(ii) or 2=he { 1 or 2=she

There is no passive form. But, the subject and object can change places e. g.

(i) / laairik aina paai
(book I read+be)

(ii) / isai maana sak-i /
(song he sing+be

So, the interpretation of the passive form

"(i) The book is read *by me*"
may be—/ laairik aina paai /
book I read+be
(me+by)

simply because 'the book' is in the front.

Although Grierson also mentions that there is no passive voice, still this interpretation of the passive style is used in his word-for-word translation,[29]

29. *G. A. Grierson—"Linguistic Survey of India", Vol. III Part III.*

8. 6. PHONOLOGY

The more important area for a proper C. A. for Manipuri learners learning English will be in phonology. Here I will make a passing reference to the areas of difficulties.

(a) (i) In consonants, a Manipuri speaker of English will always have the tendency to replace—
/ t, d, θ, d / by / t, d, th, d / because these are the nearest sounds in Manipuri.

(ii) Again, / t, v, / are almost invariably replaced by / ph, bh / (both bilabial), because there is no labio-dental fricative.

(iii) /s, f / are replaced by /s/ because there is only one /s/.

(iv) /ʒ, dʒ/ are replaced by /ʒ/ only.

(v) /p, t, k,/ will not be aspirated because, there are other phonemes /ph/&/kh/.

(6) * In case of vowels, again, all Manipuri pure vowels except /a/ (/aa/) are short. The pure vowels are / i, e, a, a / and /o, u/. There are (6) six more glides—
(*i, e, a aa)*

/ ai, ai, ui, oi / and /au, au /
/ai, aai, ui, oi / */au, aau /*

NOTE:—*W. T. Singh—"A Study of Meitei Phonology," Imphal, 1976 & Griersons Linguistic Survey of India Vol. III, Part III will give an idea of Manipuri Language.*

Here, my purpose is not to establish the consonant and vowel phonemes but to show how a lexical contrastive analysis will trace the source of errors in the pronounciation of Manipuri speakers of English. An examination of these contrasts shows the areas of difficulty for the Manipuri learner of English, Contrastive analysis will show why a Manipuri speaker tends to produce the three words—

sip
ship
sheep

in almost the same way. It is because, there is no distinction between /*s*/ and / *sh* / and between / *i* : / and / *i* : / in Manipuri phonology.

Since, these is no vowel /*ae*/ in Manipuri the tendency is to pronounce the pairs

(a) set / sat (b) pen / pan (c) ten / tan

without distinction of the vowel, Manipuri has only /*e*/

Since, there is no glide /ei/ there is no distinction between—

/ lad /, / led / and / laid / All will be / e /

Contrastive analysis will show these areas of difficulties. Not only that, C. A. has real predictive value in this case.

8.7. One more point to which I should like to make passing reference is the fact that Manipuri is a tone-language[30], with three different tones. To establish whether it is a tone language is not my purpose here. However, to put the matter beyond doubt, I am giving some examples below — (') indicates heavy, (') indicates light tones.

/ paaiba /=to fly	/ lauba / to bake in fire
/ paaiba /=to hold	/ lauba / to take etc.

Again, my purpose is to establish the fact that in case of tone language C.A. is quite useful for the study of the language. Spirit Co der has the following to say "Pitch patterns in tone languages serve two functions, that of distinguishing lexical items as well as such syntactic items as phrases and sentences, whereas in English and French pitch patterns only serve the latter function". He however, goes on, "The speaker of a tone language are only used to distinguish different grammatical functions e.g. declarative V. interrogative sentences, defining V. non-defining relative clauses, whereas the English speaker learning Chinese must additionally learn to associate pitch variation with lexical words. So fundamental are these different uses of the systems of imtonation that it is not possible at the present time to express them in terms of a differential use of rules of the same sort in a C.A. of the sound system of the two languages"[31]

30. *W. T. Singh—"A Study of Meitei Phonology", Imphal, 1976 (with a forwork by Dr. M.V. Nadkarni)*

31. *S. Pit Corder—"Introducing Applied Linguistics; Pengnin Education 1973, QP. 252. 253*

To this I have to say that C. A, may not be able to do everything But it is able to do something.

As regards the tonal features, its is true, it is a dif. ficult area. To a learner of the language, the very fact that these are differences in the two languages will give the necassary awareness in learning the language.

9. CONCLUSION :

In conclusion, it is to be pointed out that in spite of the storm against C, A., one cannot but admit that C. A. is of great importance in learning a second language, It may not be the magic key for all locks, but it is not without it potentialities. One point we have to bear in mind is that it is not only the findings of C. A. that is important, the way it has to be presented and utilised is also of much imdortance. The pedagogie importance of C. A. is these, but the importance will be enhanced by the way. it is presented also. It is where Bairol and Lakoff gives much stress. ' Where the relevant information (sentence siress, or rhythm and intonation worked out by professional linguists) is available, the from in which it appears in publications in linguistics makes it rather indigestible for the average teacher.''[32]

Robin Lakoff also stresses the presentation of the insights gained from C. A. in an 'immediately accessible' manner to the language teacher.[33]

32. *A Baird—' Contrastive Studies and the Language Teacher" ELT, XXI, 2, 1967.*

33. *R. Lakoff—"Transformational Grammar and Language Teaching" in "Teaching English as a Second Language" ed Allen & Compbell McCraw Hill 1973.*

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The Concepts of Tense and Time

IN ENGLISH AND MANIPURI
(A CASE STUDY)

Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

A contrastive analysis in the area of 'tense' and 'time' of English and Manipuri will provide an interesting case study. The two languages have certain similarities as well as differences. In certain cases the errors of the learners specially in the sequence of tense are predictable to a certain extent. From the teaching point of view, this is an interesting area of study.

The concept of 'time' has often been confused with the concept of 'tense'. In English for a long time the two were looked upon as almost synonymous. Traditionally, grammarians used to equate 'tense' with 'time'. The reason of their interpretation is quite understandable because 'tense'

is related with the expression of the concept of 'time'. J.C. Nesfield goes to the extent of saying that 'tense' means 'time'. In this connection, it is desirable to point out that there are two schools of thought—the traditional and the modern as distinct from the Prescriptive and the Descriptive Schools which dominated the history of English grammar. Apart from the classification of grammarians, from the types of grammar they wrote like the *I.C. Analysis* Phrase Structure Grammar, Stratificational Grammar Transformational Grammar etc. such a simple division of grammarians into Traditional and Modern, though not without some problems, make the work easier in referring to them. So, the terms—'Traditional' and 'Modern have been used here and there. The earlier grammarians like J. C. Nesfield and people following the same lines are referred to as 'traditional grammarirus' and others are referred to as 'Modern grammarians'. However, modern grammarians with better linguistic insight separate the two categories. It is now generally, assumed that tense is the verbal forms which reflect 'time'. One simple reason is that the same 'tense' form may refer to different 'times'—past, present and future. There is no one to one correspondence between the two. Some languages may have corresponding verbal forms for the three times, while some languages may have only two forms to express the three times. Still there may be a language where there is no tense at all. It has been found out that the concept of 'time' may be different with some people. "Hopi may be called a timeless language. It recognises psychological time, which is much like Bergson's 'duration' but this time is quite un-

like the mathematical time, T, used by our physicists" 1. 'Among the peculiar properties of Hopi time is that it varies with each observer, does not permit simultaneity and has zero dimension i.e, it cannot be given a number greater than one.......The timeless Hopi verb does not distinguish between the present, past and future of the event itself but must always indicate what type of validity the speaker intends the statement to have". 2 The psychic experiences that we class under time are not destroyed: but categories derived from other kinds of experiences take the rulership of the cosmology and seem to function just as well. 3 'What are to English differences of time are to Hopi differences in the kind of validity.' As linguists explore the unexplored areas of language and languages many facts which are contrary to traditional belief have come to light. One of these is the concept of tense.

Another point is that in the past scholars used to apply the grammatical frame-work of one language to another in the study of the language. In the process it so happened that the scholars used to twist the facts of the language to suit to the framework which the grammarians had already in mind. People did not or rather could not think that different languages could have differeut mechanisms to express the different ideas of life. It is well kuown that

1. *Benjamin L. Whorf; "Science & Linguistics" in Readings in Applied English Linguistics" ed. H.B. Allen. Amerind Publishing W. Pvt. Ltd.*

2 & 3. *ibid. B:L. Whorf — "Science & Lonquistics" in Reading in Applied English Linguitics ed. H,B. Allen.*

scholars used to the framework of Greek and Latin Grammars in the analysis of English language. It seems to be the tendency of most scholars to look upon the framework of the more developed (popular/well-known) languages to be applicable to the lesser known languages. It has also been so for a long time in case of Manipuri, a language spoken by the Manipuris inhabiting the state of Manipur and some districts of Assam, Tripura and Bangladesh.

Manipuri which is regarded as a sub-branch of the Tibeto-Chinese group of laguages 4 has little similarity with other Indian languages although there has been a great influence from other Indian languages and literature specially Bengali, Sanskrit and Hindi. Although it had its own literature dating back to the first century A. D, the study of Grammar and language is of recent origin. So, early grammarians used the framework of Bengali and Sanskrit grammars. English Grammatical framework was used later on without realising the great difference between the two languages. Quite interestingly some of the grammatical concepts of English grammar which are now regarded as inapplicable to English language are quite applica ble to Manipuri. One such concept is the concept of 'tense' in relation to 'time'

4. *Elements of the Science of Language—Taraporewala.*

Chapter II
CONCEPT OF TENSE AND TIME IN ENGLISH

2.1. As already pointed out, traditional grammarians of English used to equate 'tense' with 'time'. Most modern grammarians have pointed out that there should be a clear distinction between the concept of 'time' and the concept of tense. "Time is a universal, non linguistic concept with three divisions : Past, present and future; by tense we understand the correspondence between the form of the verb and our concept of time" 5 "Or, rather;...... time is divided into two parts, the past and the future, the point of division being the present moment, which like a mathematical point, has no dimension, but is continually fleeting" 6. 'Tense' is a grammatical category. It is a formal category and not a semantic category. The use of meaning to determine the tense is opposed by grammarians on the ground that nouns may have tense if meaning is a test for tense—"ex-wife is past, fiancee is future and grandfather is pluperfect. 7

In the classification of 'tenses' in English, there has been a lot of conflicting views among grammarians. Apart from the use of different terminologies for the expression of different time-elements, grammarians have a tendency to use certain terminologies to suit their purpose. At the same time the yardstick with which one group of grammarians classify tense is different from the yardstick used

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5. *A University grammar of English by Quirk & Greenbaum*
6. *Essentials of English grammar by Otto Jespersen.*
7. *Grammar by Frank Palmer,*

by another group. Traditionally, the classification of tense was mainly based on semantics. So when it refers to the 'Past Time,' it is 'Past Tense', when it refers to the "Present Time" it becomes "Present Tense" and when it refers to the 'Future Time' it becomes the "Future Tense" The only trouble is that sometimes, meaning and form begin to cross the barrier putting the grammarians into dismay. However traditional grammarians overlooked this point because if they took the form into consideration, a lot of questions were likely to crop up. They have given no explanation for sentences like—"The plane is landing shortly."

Some modern grammarians in order to avoid such anomalies, classify tenses morphologically.

So, morphologically, English has two tenses—the present and the past. 8 These are distinguished by inflections, e.g. (i) add—added; (ii) bend—bent; (iii) cry—cried; (iv) dry—dried; (v) enter—entered etc.

2.2. Modern English grammarians think that there is no future tense in English although traditional grammarians classified English tense system into Past, Present and future. [There are different mechanisms to express the future time but morphologically English verbs do not have a form for future tense]9 The primary basis for the one is semantics whereas for the other it is morphology. In English, they are found not to have one to one corresdondence all the time. In single words most often a morphological change leads to a semantic change and when it relates to the verb the change also reflects the change in the time element e g —

8. *Pulmer=Grammar.*

9. *ibid.*

(i) go—went;
(ii) hide=hid
(iii) invite=invited
(iv) jump=jumped
(v) keep=kept
(vi) look=looked
(vii) meet=met
(viii) nib=nibbed
(ix) order=ordered
(x) pack=packed
(xi) ride=rode
(xii) see=saw
(xiii) take=took
(xiv) walk=walked
(xv) yell=yelled etc.

But, then there are words where the semantic change does not have a corresponding morphological change e g.

(i) beat=beat
(ii) hit=hit
(iii) read=read etc.

It naturally points to the conclusion that semantics and morphology do not go together. The problem becomes all the more complicated when it comes to sentences where some adverbial elements add more complication. e, g.

(i) The function is tomorrow.
(ii) The train is leaving tonight.
(iii) Her birthday falls on Friday next etc.

2.3. It is to be noted that in English there is no one to one correspondence between the form and the meaning of the verb. It implies that the present tense does not necessarily mean that it expresses only the present time. It may express the future time also. Similarly, the past tense form may express present time also, The following examples will illustrate the point :—

1) Simple present expressing present time –
He is a Scholar.

2) Simple present with future time reference—
The plane leaves for Chicago at eight o'clock tomorrow.

3) Simple present with past time reference is used with the communication verbs "tell, hear, write etc. to express the persistence in the present of the effect of a past communication"—
John tells me that you have been abroad 8.

Again let's see the following :—

1) Simple past—I went to the market.

2) Past tense forms need not refer to past time.
   i) Did you want to see me ?
   ii) Could you pass the salt ?

are no more than a slightly politer versions of 'Do you want to see me ?' and 'Can you pass the salt ?

3.4. The future time is generally expressed with the auxiliary verbs "shall & will' but there are other mechanism also".

e g. I shall/will try to do my best.

Traditional grammarians called it the future tense Poutsma's definition of tense includes it. He writes, "By tense we understand a particular form of a verb, or a verb group, by means of which we show to what time-sphere an action or state is considered to belong"9. It is this idea of a verb group that led them to interpret the construction

8. *A Grammar of contemporary English—Quirk; Greenbam, Leech & Swasirik.*

9 *H. Poutsma—A Grammar of Late Modern English Pt. II Sec. II. Gronigen 1926.*

"shall/will plus V" as a future tense, because it has reference to future time also.

J. C. Nesfield made an analysis of tense purely on the basis of time. In this view, 'Tense shows (a) the time of an action, (b) its degree of completeness'. He goes on to say that a verb 'has three main times or tenses viz the Present, the Past and the Future' 11.

He gives sixteen tense forms in the Active voice for the Present tense, the Past tense the Future tense and Future in the Past. In the Passive voice, he gives twelve forms. The Perfect Continuous tense is excluded. The following chart shows the tense forms of English in the view of J. C. Nesfield.

I Active Voice 12

Form	Present Tense	Past Tense
(i) Simple	I see	I
(ii) Continuous	I am seeing	I was seeing
(iii) Perfect	I have seen	I had seen
(iv) Perfect Continuous	I have been seeing	I had been seeing

Form	Future	Future in the Past
(i) Simple	I shall see	I should see
(ii) Continuous	I shall be seeing	I should be seeing
(iii) Perfect	I shall have seen	I should have seen
(iv) Perfect Continuous	I shall have been seeing	I should have been seeing

11. English Grammar, composition and usage Macmillan.

II Passive Voice

Form	Present Tense	Past Tense
1. Simple	I am seen	I was seen
2. Continuous	I am being seen	I was being seen
3. Perfect	I have been seen	I had been seen
4. Perfect Continuous	(wanting)	(wanting)

Form	Future	Past Tense
1. Simple	I shall be seen	I should be seen
2. Continuous	(wanting)	wanting
3. Perfect	I shall have been seen	I should have been seen
4. Perfect Continuous	(wanting)	(wanting)

Chapter III

THE EXPRESSION OF TIME IN ENGLISH

3.1. The English language has various mechanisms to make subtle distinction of time.[12] Although morphologically, it has only two tense forms of the verb, different combinations of the verbs can express various phases and aspects of time and action * There are eight basic structures of the present & the past tenses which can be grouped into 2 paradigms of four each. Moreover, there are four other structures expressing besides others, future time.

* [.....Tense oftcn seems to be irrelevant a redundant for the expression of semantic time in English]- Paul Van Baret'in Techniques in Applied Linguistic. Vol 3 ed. Allied

12. Ibid.

These four structures were called future tense by traditional grammarians But many modern grammarians have a second thought about it. However they are structures used for the expression of time.

3.2 : Present

Present Indefinite (Simple present)—	I write a book
Present Continuous	I am writing a book.
Present perfect	I have written a book.
Present perfect continuous	I have been writing a book.

Past

Past Indifinite (Simple past) —	I wrote a book.
Past Continuous	I was writing a book
Past perfect	I had written a book.
Past perfect continuous	I had been writing a book.

(Future time reference)* 11

Future Indefinite	— I shall write a book
Future Continuous	— I shall be writing a book.
Future perfect	— I shall have written a book.
Future perfect continuous	— I shall have been writing a book.

As has been pointed out earlier, traditional grammarians used to call these forms future tense. Nesfield used to classify tense on the basis of time. As such these forms which usually describe the future time elements were called future tense. It comes under the category of tense phrase of

* A University English Grammar—Quirk et al.

Jesperson and compound tense of A.S. Hornby. Even Quirk & Greenbaum calls it "Future tense as a matter of course".

3.2. (A) These forms may have different time references besides the basic point of time with which they are associated **

3.3. The present Indefinite (simple present) may have the following time references:—

i) Present without reference to specific time—

a) Universal time statements—

Fire is hot. Rain is water. Man is mortal.

Two and two make four.

b) Habitual time statement—

I pray to God every morning.

ii) The instantaneous simple present—

Commentaries : (a) Shahid passes the ball to Tikken,

Tikken pushes it to Thoiba,

Thoiba dribbles past Munawar etc.

Demonstration : (b) I now place it on fire.

Exclamation : Here comes the saints !

iii) Simple Present with future time Reference—

The examination begins on the 19th of next month

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*11. ** F.R. Palmer thinks that this belongs to a Secondary Pattern & ought not therefore be handled together with the other two. (THE ENGLISH VERB BY F. R. PALMER) But for simplication of my work I have includ.d it here.*

iv) Simple present with past time Reference—
John tells me that you have been abroad * 12.

3.4. The Present continuous like the simple present can show a habitual activity, but it carries on overtone of some emotion.

My eyes are always giving me trouble "(shows irritation)"

It also shows an action in progress—
On my way to the College, I generally meet children who are going to School.

3.5. The Present perfect shows the following :—

i) Something that has happend at an indefinite past; no time expression is used ;

I have won the chess championship.
I have seen Hyderabad.

ii) something that began in the past and has continued upto the time of speaking and writing.
I have studied for nine months.

iii) something that has just happened—
I have just met the doctor in the Office.

3.6. i) The Present perfect continuous expresses an ctivity that began in the past but which is still continuing—

(a) I have been living here since 1976.

ii) It may also express an action that was going on in the immediate past, with a result in the present—
I have been running too fast.

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2. *A Grammar of Contemporary English, by Quirk et al.*

3.7. The past Indifinite (simple past) shows an act done in the past—

I passed M.A. in 1966. I went to Hyderabad in 1976

* Jesperson calls it 'Preterit'. Time is 'Past' but tense is 'Preterit'.

3.8. The past continuous form shows an action in progress in the past—

I was reading a book last evening.

3.9. The past perfect has the meaning of past in the past. It expresses an act in the past that was completed before another act in the past—

I had written the book review before I wrote the term paper.

3.10. The Past perfect continuous the duration of an action upto a certain point in the past :

I had been reading a book before I slept.

3.11. FUTURITY :—

Futurity is expressed in various ways in English. The following are some of the ways—

i) Simple present	— The train leaves at 6.30 next morning.
ii) Present Continuous	— I am leaving Hyderabad in April.
iii) Be going to	— I am going to apply for the post.
iv) Be about to	— We are about to leave.
v) Other medals	— I may go to the market.

vi) There are other words like 'intend' meaning 'want' etc. that are used to express futurity :—

I want to come here again.

I intend to apply to the government. etc.

But one of the ways of expressing futurity is by using 'shall' with the first person and 'will' with the second and third persons.

I shall be thirty six next year.

My daughter will be five in December. etc.

Only this type of construction was refferred to as 'Future Tense'. Traditional grammarians use the Ferm 'Future Tense' for such constructions because they express future time. As pointed out earliear, even Quirk and other grammarians call it "Future as a malter of course". A.S. Hornby includes such constructions in the compound tense and O. Jespersor calls them tense phrase.

3. 2. The construction 'shall/will+progressive' can be used if the future action is thought of in its continuity.

I shall be living in Hyderabad next year.

3.13. The future perfect expresses the concept of one future time which is past in relation to another future time:—

On 31st March he will have completed nine months in this Institute.

3.14. The future perfect continuous is used to stress the duration of an action that takes place before another future event.

Before he reaches Manipur, he will have been travelling for five days.

All these show the subtle mechanism of English for expressing different units of time. Modern English grammarians classify tense only into two as examplified by "I respect him" and "I respected him". These are called the present and the past and other divisions are on the basis of phase and aspect. But, the concept of time can be expressed in the minutest detail with the help of these mechanisms.

3.15. In every language, these are mechanisms to express these time units. However, it has to be pointed out that expression always lags behind thought When we think, there is no limit; but when we try to express we face a number of hurdles. No language can express what we really think. To a certain extent, there is possibility of expression but beyond a point it is not possible. What is possible is what we include in grammar. In Manipuri also there are mechanisms to express most of these. And these can rightly be called different tenses in this language. The next chapter will discuss the concept in detail.

Chapter IV
THE MANIPURI—LANGUAGE * *

One of the problems, I face here is that in giving examples of Manipuri for the various tenses. I have to give full sentences which will be the product of a full knowledge

* * *Note—A brief sketch of Manipuri language is given in 'Linguistic survey of India' Vol. III Part III by Sir G. A. Griersa, Motolal Bauarsidas.*

of Manipuri Grammar. So, I consider it necessary to give a brief sketch of the language and its working with special reference to the verbal system. The Manipuri sentences will be given in Phonemic transcription with a slightly modified I.P.A. symbols. The superfix tone markers are used / ` / for the heavy tone and / ´ / for the light tone.

4.1. Manipuri language and some of its characteristics:—

Manipuri is a highly inflected language. The tenses, number and cases are formed by adding suffixes. The following are some examples—

4.2. The plural form of monosyllabic nouns are formed by adding the suffix /-jam/or/sin/ (য়াম or শিং) to the word.*

e.g.	Singular		Plural	
(i)	human being	=/mi/	human beings	=/m`ij´am/ or m`isi´ng
(ii)	animal	=/sa/	animals	=/sa´ja´m/ or/s`asi´ng
(iii)	cloth	=/phi/	cloths	— /ph`ija´m/ or/phi`si`ng
(iv)	thing	=/pot/	things	=/po`tj´am/ or/po`tsi´ng

In colloquial use, however, the plural idea can be expressed with the singuler form. Only one form is used for both siogular and plural.

e.g.

i) There is a crowd = (i) মীয়াম তিন্নি ।
(ii) মী তিন্নি ।

ii) There is one girl = নুপীমচা অমা লৈ ।

iii) There are three girls = নুপীমচা অহুম লৈ ।

In the general usage, even if these are many people, the term 'মী' is used e. g.

'মী লাকই ।' may mean one person or more than one person. However, a word with the suffixes—/jam/(য়াম) or [sin] (শিং) always plural. When they are in existence as individuals, they are treated as Singular and Plural. However, they change colour in sentences under different contexts.

4.3. There are four cases—nominative, possesive, objective and locative.

4.4. Nominative is formed by adding the suffix - /nə/ to the noun or pronoun,**—

Possessive is formed by adding the suffix /—gi/ and /—ki/ :

The objective is formed by adding the suffixes /—bu/ or /—pu/ to the word.

4.5. In case of possessive case, if the word ends in voiceless sound ("k" 't', and "p", 's') the suffix is /-ki/ but in other cases it is always /-gi/ In the case of objective if the word ends in voiceless sound (k, t. p) the suffix is /-pu/; but in other cases it is always / bu/.

4 6. Examples of Nominative and objective cases—

i) He/She sees me = মানা ঐবু উই ।

ii) Quirk teaches them = Quirk না মখোয়বু তম্বী ।

iii) They teach him/her = মখোয়না মাবু তম্বী ।

iv) He beats Frank = মানা Frank (পু) ফুই ।

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* *Very often the nominative marker is omitted specially after intransitive verbs* e.g. */m`a phai´/n´an a´abli/ etc. he good is you go.*

v) I fear Quirk = ঐ Quirk (পু) কী।
vi) I love (my) friend. = ঐ (না) মরুপপু নুংশি।
vii) I fear sin. = ঐ (না) পাপ (পু) কী।
viii) I hate cheating. = ঐ (না) নমথাক ভুক্'চ।
ix) Man supports culture. = মী (না) মনাং (পু) পোৌগংশি।

4.7. A few examples of possessive case—

English		Manipuri
My book	=	ঐগী লাইরিক।
his/her book	=	মাগী লাইরিক।
your book (singular)	=	নংগী লাইরিক।
our book	=	ঐখোয়গী লাইরিক।
their book	=	মখোয়গী লাইরিক।
your (Plural) book)	=	নখোয়গী লাইরিক।
John's book	=	জোনগী লাইরিক।
Mary's book	=	মেরীগী লাইরিক।
Fish of lake	=	পাৎকী ঙা।
Lake water	=	পাৎকী ঈশিং।
friend's house	=	মরুপকী য়ুম।

It is also to be noted that after /b, d, g and s/ the possessive case marker is /-ki/ and the objective case maker is /-pu/. But, these sounds never occur in the Word-final position except in a very few loan words.

4.8. Locative case is expressed by the suffix /-də/ and /-tə/. /-də/ is used after voiced sound and /-tə/ is used after voiceless sound.

	English	Manipuri
e.g	I go to the College.	ঐ/ঐনা কলেজ চৎলি।
	She comes to the Institute.	ম /মানা ইনষ্টিত্যূট লাকই।

They live in India. মখোয় ভারতা লৈ।
He goes to the market. মা/মানা কৈথেল চৎলি।
We are at Hyderabad. ঐখোয় হায়দরাবাদতা লৈ।

4.9. Another important feature of Manipuri is that the number and person (and gender) of the subject do not effect the form of the verb.

	English		Manipuri
e.g	I go	=	ঐ/ঐনা চৎলি।
	He/She goes	=	মা মানা চৎলি।
	They go	=	মখোয়/মখোয়না চৎলি।
	It goes	=	ম'সি/মসিনা চৎলি।
	John goes	=	জোন জোননা চৎলি।
	Jane goes	=	জেন জেন্না চৎলি।

4.10. Tone is a phoneme in Manipuri. Many words with a verbal morpheme in Meitei language (Manipuri) has lexically significant, contrastive and relative pitch. The pitch is lexically significant. With the change of the pitch of a syllable the meaning of the word changes. The following examples will illustrate the point—

English—Manipuri

1)	to fly	প'াইব	2)	to do (work etc)	ভো'ব
	to hold.	প`ায়ব		to dig	তো`ব
3)	to repay	শি'ংব	4)	to swing	হ'াইব
	to challege	শী`ঙব		to say	হ`ায়ব
5)	to live	লৈ'ব	6)	to pile	পৈ'ব
	to buy	লৈ`ব		to lean	পৈ`ব

4.11. I use two tone markers the heavy tone (regarded as heavy toneme) will be marked by the primary stress

sign /-`/ the lights by /-´ / and the others will be left unmarked. Although there is another tone in between the heavy and the light, tonemes, I will avoid it since it will not affect my primary purpose here.

However, it is in case of only some words with a verbal morpheme. When it is bound with a noun or additional morpheme, there is no contrast of pitch. e.g. / phəzəbə / (beauty) has not contrastive pitch. Sometimes, one of the contrastive pitches may be verbal and the other adjectival, e.g.

i) / kə`ubə / to call /
/ kə´ubə / to be short

ii) / ənə`ubə / to try
/ ŋə´ubə / to be whit

4.12. One characteristic of Manipuri verbs is that when they are not in a sentence, they do not exist as verbs. When they are individuals they exist in the noun form with one additional bound morpheme attached to them, the root form of the verb. In case, the verb root ends in voiceless sound (p, t, k etc.) the additional morpheme is /-pə / but in other cases it is always /-bə /. So, both the verb root and the additional morpheme are bound morphemes. When the verb is used in a sentence, only the verb root will be used with another imflectional suffix. For example, the word /-pabə / is formed of the verb root /-pa / and the bound morpheme /-bə /. It means "reading". For e.g.

	English	Manipuri
	Reading is good	পাব ফৈ
but,	He reads a book.	মানা লাইরিক পাই।

English	Manipuri
Flying is difficult.	পাইবা য়ুই ।
but, The bird flies	উচেক পাই ।

/ i / is synthesis The only verbal form which can exist alone (some times) is the equivalent of the verb—'be' which is 'oi' e. g

English	Manipuri
I am a teacher	ঐ ওজা ওই ।
He/She is a teacher.	মা ওজা ওই ।
I was a boy.	ঐ নুপামচা ওইরম্মী ।
He was a boy.	মা নুপামচা ওইরম্মী ।
They were boys.	মখোয় নুপামচা ওইরম্মী ।

4.13. One more point is about the word order in Manipuri language. The verb is almost always at the end of the sentence. The adjective can be used both attributively just in front of the noun and predicatively with the verb. When used predicatively, it is always combined with the verb. The equivalent of the verb 'be' is 'oiba' When used in a sentence, only the root /-i/ is used. It is combined with the root of another verb or adjective. The

	adjectival root	—	'be' verb	—	adjectival verb
good	= /phə/	+	/oi/	=	/phəi/
wise	= /sin(g)/	+	/oi/	=	/sini/
foolish	= /pan(g)/	+	/oi/	=	/wani/
tall	= /wan(g)/	+	/oi/	=	/wani/
short	= / tel /	+	/ oi /	=	/ teli/or/[illegible]/
broad	= /pak/	+	/ oi /	=	/pak-i /
narrow	= / khu /	+	/ oi /	=	/ khui /
bright	= /lan(g)/	+	/ oi /	=	/lon(g)i /

dark	=	/ mən /	+	/ oi /	=	/ məmi /
small	=	/ pik /	+	/ oi /	=	/ piki /
big	=	/ cəu /	+	/ oi /	=	/ chaui /

The combined form becomes the verb (truly speaking, a verbal adjective quite different from the verb.)

	English	Manipuri
e.g.	He is good	মা ফৈ।
	I am tall	ঐ ৱাংই।
	This is big	মসি চাউই।
	She is wise	মহাক শিংই।
	It is sweet.	মসি নুংশি। / মসি থুমই।

There is a distinct difference in order between English and Manipuri. This has been illustrated in Part I. It has an important aspect in language teaching. To a certain extent, it can be safely concluded that Manipuri speakers learning English as second language are like to make some mistakes out of their word order. The interrogative structures of these sentences will be—

Is he good ?	মা ফজ্রা ?
Am I tall ?	ঐ ৱাংব্রা ?
Is she wise ?	মা শিংব্রা ?
Is it sweet ?	মসি নুংশিব্রা ?

It is not surprising to hear students say—He is good ? Why you are coming ? You do it ? He passes ? etc. It is perhaps due to the influence of the mother tongue. In Manipuri the verb is almost always at the end.

Another tendency is in the use of imperative sentence. Manipuris would prefer the structure=S+V for impera-

tive sentences as well. The subject "You" is often used. e.g You go now. You do it, etc. It makes almost no distinction between assertive and imperative sentences. (In English this is used only under special circumstances).

For the combination with verb roots, I will illustrate later on when I deal with the verbal forms in various tenses.

With these preliminary discussion of the outlines of Manipuri grammar, I go over to the concept of time and tense in Manipuri.

Chapter V
THE CONCEPT OF TENSE AND TIME IN MANIPURI

5.1. I have already pointed out that time belongs to the semantic category and tense belongs to the grammatical category. Almost all languages have some mechanism to express the concept of time in some form or other. In English the mechanism to express this concept of time is operated in the verb. I have pointed out that there is no one to one correspondence between the two concepts. In English, the verbal forms are only two—the present and the pas and the future time is expressed with the help of various devices.

5.2. In Manipuri, however, there is a close correspondence between time and tense. The three broad divisions of time are present, past and future. The verbal forms—the tenses show the differences of time. The following example will illustrate the point.

i) The verbal root is 'ca-' meaning to 'eat' which is written / cabə / when it is independent.

English		Manipuri		
Time	Tense	Time	Tense	
Present—I eat	Present	Present	ঐ/ঐনা চার	Present
Past —I ate	Past	Past	ঐ/ ঐনা চারমই।	Past.
Future —I shall eat	Non-past	Future	ঐ/ঐনা চাগনী।	Future

ii) The verbal root is "pai" meaning "read" written in independent əxistence as / pabə /.

English		Manipuri		
Time	Tense	Time	Tense	
Present—I read	Present	Present	ঐ/ঐনা পাই	Present
Past —I read	Past	Past	ঐ/ঐনা পারম্মী।	Past.
Future —I shall	Non-past	Future	ঐ/ঐনা পাগনী।	Future

iii) The following examples also will illustrate the point. But, for convenience I am using only the three terms present, past and future.

The verbal root is 'ka'—meaning to climb 'in' the word 'kab'

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* *The basic sentence structure of Manipuri can be one of the following patterns—*

i) SV =/ m`a ph'ai / he good is.

ii) SOV =/ m`ana ə`ibu ui' / he mesees.

iii) SOAV=/ m`an° ə`ibu sidə ui' / he me here sees etc.

English	Manipuri
Present—I climb the tree	ঐনা উ কায়।
Past —I climbed the tree	ঐনা উ কায়রম্মী।
Future—I shall climb the tree	ঐনা উ কাগনী।

iv) The verbal root is 'pai' meaning to 'fly' in the word 'paibə'

English	Manipuri
Present—The bird flies	উচেকন পাই।
Past —The bird flew	উচেকন পাইরম্মী।
Future - The bird flew	উচেকন পাইগনী।

v) The verb root is 'hai' in the word / haiba / meaning to 'say'

English	Manipuri
Present—He/She says	মানা হায়।
Past —He/She said	মানা হায়রম্মী।
Future—He/She will say.	মানা হায়গনী।

(*Note*:— In Manipuri there is no difference in the pronoun for the masculive and feminine. The third personal pronoun in the singular number is either / m'a (মা) / or / m'əhak (মহাক) / both are used equally frequently. In case of the first and second persons also there is similar pattern, For first person singular it is / ə'i (ঐ) / or / ə'ihak (ঐহাক) / For the 2nd person singular number it is / n'an (নঙ) / or / n'anh'ak (নঙহাক) / however the short ones are more frequently used in spoken language than the longer ones),

5.3. The above examples show that there is a clear division of the three tenses and the three tenses corres-

pord to times. From the data it is also clear that the past tense which also expresses past time is formed by adding the suffix / r'əmi / (ৰমী) to the verb root and the future tense which also expresses future time is formed by adding the suffix / ga'ni' / (গনী) to the verb root. In case of the present tense which also expresses the present time the suffix "i" is used in all the cases but there is some difference in the nature between the first three and the last two. It needs further elucidation. Moreover, it is a simplified version and there are many points to be clarified for the past and future tense suffixes. But before going into the details of all these I should first make a general statement about the different subdivision of tenses (which some grammarians call "Aspect" * 15 and some some call "Phase" and Aspect",**16

Chapter VI

TENSES IN MANIPURI

6.1. Here, I should prefer the traditional level to the present day division according to Tense, Phase and Aspect. I am using the old classification of the Tenses. The following chart will serve a general subclassification of tenses in Manipuri.

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15. Quirk & Greenbaum—A university Grammar of English

16. F.R. Palmer—The English Verb.

16. Nelson Francis—The structure of American English.

→Past:—Indifinite : Continuous : Perfect : Perfect continuous.
Tense→→Present:—Indefinite : Continuous : Perfect : Perfect continuous.
→Future:—Indefinite : Continuous : Perfect : Perfect continuous.

TENSE

Past	Present	Future
Indifinite Continuous Perfect Perfect continuous	Indifinite continuous Perfect Perfect continuous	Indifinite, Continuous Perfect Perfect continuous

In both present and past tenses there are four sub-classes. The verb takes different suffixes and also express different aspects of the nature of action, I will illustrate the point with verbal root "tou" (তৌ) of the word 't`oub`ə' (তৌবা) meaning 'doing'. A simple general statement—"I do (a/the) work", which will be lebelled "present Indefinite has the Manipuri eqeivalent,

/ əina thəbək təui'/] ঐনা থবক তৌই।
I work do.

If the work is in progress at a particular moment at the present time, the sentence will / ঐনা থবক তৌরি। (he equivalent in English will be "I am doing the work". Manipuri has no article system).

Again, if the work has been finished and somebody asked me "Have you finished the work ?" the answer is "Yes', which means "I have (finished) done the work. The Manipuri equivalent is

ঐনা থবক তৌরে ।

(It is the Present perfect form of English)

Suppose, I have been doing a work from a particular point of time in the past and the work still continues. In other words it is the present perfect continuous in English— "I have been doing the work". The Manipuri equivalent will be— ঐনা থবক তৌরক্লি ।

The following examples will further support this view.

1) The verbal root of the Manipuri word / পাব ? is / পা / meaning to "read".

English	Present teuse	Manipuri
I read (a/the)* book	Indifinite	ঐনা লাইরিক পাই ।
I am reading (a/the)* book	Continuous	ঐনা লাইরিক পারি ।
I have read (a/the)* book	Perfect	ঐনা লাইরিক পারে ।
I have been reading (a/the)* book.	Perfect continuous	ঐনা লাইরিক পারক্লি ।

2) The verbal root of the Manipuri word / thəuba / meaning 'driving' is / thəu /

English	Present tense	Manipuri
I drive the car	Indefinite	ঐনা কার থোই ।
I am driving the car	Continuous	ঐনা কার থোরি ।
I have driven the car	Perfect	ঐনা কার থোরে ।
I have been driving the car.	Perfect continuous	ঐনা কার থোরক্লি ।

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* *In Manipuri there ig no article.*

3) The verbal root is / c´u / (চু) in the word / c´ubə / (চুবা) meaning "falling of rain' used in the case of raining only. The word for rain is /non(g)/ (নোং). In Manipuri the construction will be with / n'n / (নোং as subject.

English	Present tense	Manipuri
It rains	Indefinite	নোং চুই ।
It is raining	Continuous	নোং চুরি ।
It has rained	Perfect	নোং চুরে ।
It has been raining	Perfect continuous	নোং চুরক্লি ।

6.2. In the past tense also the corresponding forms are available. The following examples will illustrate the point:—

1) The verbal root is / təu / (তৌ) in the word /tə´ubə´/ (তৌবা) meaning 'doing'.

English	Past tense	Manipuri
I did the work	Indefinite	ঐনা থবক তৌরম্মী ।
I was doing the work	Continuous	ঐনা থবক তৌরমলি ।
I had done the work	Perfect	ঐনা থবক তৌরমলে ।
I had been doing the work	Perfect continuous.	ঐনা থবক তৌরক্লি ।

2) The verbal root is / cu´ / in the word / cubə´ / meaning 'falling' (specially—rain). The subject is the 'rain'.

English	Past tense	Manipuri
It rained	Indefinite	নোং চুরম্মী ।
It was raining	Continuous	নোং চুরমলি ।
It had rained	Perfect	নোং চুরমলে ।
It had been raining	Perfect continuous	নোং চুরকমলি

3) The verbal root is / ঙাই / in the word / ঙাইব / meaning 'waiting'.

English	Past tense	Manipuri
He waited	Indefinite	মানা ঙাইরম্মী।
He was waiting	Continuous	মানা ঙাইরমলি।
He had waited	Perfect	মানা ঙাইরমলে।
He had been waiting	Perfect continuous	মানা ঙাইরকলমলি।

6.3. In case of future tense it is completely different. There is one future tense form which is the expression of a future a:tion as illus'ra'ed by the following examples :—

1) The verbal root is / তৌ / in the word / তৌব / meaning 'doing'.

English	Future tense	Manipu.i
I shall do.	Indefinite	ঐনা তৌগনী।
I shall be doing	Continuous	—
I shall have done	Perfect	—
I shall have been doing	Perfect continuous	—

2) The verbal root is / লৈ / in the word / লৈব' / meaning 'do buy'

English	Future tense	Man puri
I shall buy	Indefinite	ঐনা লৈগনী।
I shall be buying	Continuous	—
I shall have bought	Perfect	—
I shall have been buying	Perfect continuous	—

3. The verbal root is / ঙাই' / in the word / ঙাইব' / meaning 'waiting'.

English	Future tense	Manipuri
I shall wait	Indefinite	ঐনা ঙাইগনী।
I shall be waiting	Continuous	—
I shall have waited	Perfect	—
I shall have been waiting	Perfect continuous.	—

6 4. There is another form in Manipuri which has a future meaning with a difference If one has started doing something, the idea that the work will be continued is expressed by another form. It is a future tense but the idea it expresses is different. It is used only in the case of one which has already been started. In this sense, it is closer to the perfect continuous form. Suppose I have read a book upto Chapter V. Then I have to go on reading from Chapter VI. In this sense the suffix is / থগনী /. The verbal root is / pa / in the word / pabe / meaning 'reading'. The econg future forms are -

English	Future tense	Manipuri
I will read	Indefinite	ঐনা পাগনী।
I will continue reading	... .	ঐনা পাথগনী।

Again the verbal root is / তৌ / in the word / তৌব / meaning 'doing'. The two future tense forms will be—

English	Future tense	Manipuri
I will do (a/the) work.	Indefinite	ঐনা থবক তৌগনী।
I will continue to do (a/the) work.	....	ঐনা থবক তৌথগনী।

Again the verbal root is / hai / in the word / haibə/ meaning 'to say'—

English	Future tense	Manipuri
I will say	Indefinite	ঐনা হাইগনী।
I will continue to say	... .	ঐনা হায়থগনী।

6.4. GENERALISATIONS :

My objective is to establish that in Manipuri there are the three tenses (system)—the present the past and the future. I have supported my contention with valid proofs. I have also pointed out the subclassification of the tenses according to phase and aspect. But there is an important point to be noted. Here I think it is necessary to make first the generalisations of the findings I have so far shown. The different suffixes for the present tense are :—

1) The present Indefinite has the suffix =/-i / ই
2) The present continuous has the suffix =/-ri / রি
3) The present perfect has the suffix =/-re / রে
4) The present perfect continuous has the suffix =/-rekli / রক্লি

The different suffixes for the Past tense are the following :—

1) Past Indefinite	...	/-rəmi'/	রম্মি
2) Past Continuous	...	/-rəmli'/	মরম্লি
3) Past perfect	...	/-rəml'e/	রমলে
4) Past Perfect Continueus	...	/-rəkləmi'/	রকলম্মি

For the future tense the suffixes are :—

1) Indefinite	...	/-gəni/	গনি
2)	...	/-thagəni'/	থগনি।

6.5. THE MORPHOPHONEMIC INFLUENCE :—

But, occasionally one will come across suffixes regularly different from these. Where there is / r / in the examples I have given here, sometimes there may be / l / in some suffixes ; and where there is / g / sometime there may be / k / in some suffixes This is due to a morphophonemic rule which is applicable in Manipuri However, instead of explaining the rule straight away, I want to show some examples :—

The verbal root is / kəp / in the word / kəppə / (and not /kəpbə/) meaning "weeping".—

English	Present tense	Manipuri
I weep	Indefinite	ঐন বপ্পি ।
I am weeping	Continuous	ঐনা কপলি ।
I have wept	Perfect	ঐনা কপলে ।
I have been weeping	Perfect continuous	ঐনা কপলক্লি ।

In the past tense the forms are as follows :—

English	Past tense	Manipuri
I wept	Indefinite	ঐনা কপলম্মি
I was weeping	Continuous	ঐনা কপলমলি ।
I had wept	Perfect	ঐনা কপলমলে ।
I had been weeping	Perfect Continuous	ঐনা কপলকলম্মি

In future tense also there is the change ,—

English	Future Tense	Manipuri
I shall weep	Indefinite	ঐনা কপকনি ।
I shall continue to weep	... ...	ঐনা কপথগনি ।

2. The verbal root is / kam / in the word / kambə / meaning 'blowing' (e.g. blowing fire through bellows etc)

English	Present tense	Manipuri
I blow (fire etc.)	Indefinite	ঐনা কাম্পি ।
I am blowieg (fire etc.)	Continuous	ঐনা কামলি ।
I have blown (fire etc.)	Perfect	ঐনা কা মলে ।
I have been blowing (fire etc,)	Perfect continuous	ঐনা কামলকলি ।

In the past tense the forms will be as follows :—

English	Past tense	Manipuri
I blew (fire etc.)	Indefinite	ঐনা কামলম্পি ।
I was blowing (fire etc)	Continuous	ঐনা কামলমলি ।
I had blown (fire etc.)	Perfect	ঐনা কামলমলে ।
I have been blowing (fire etc.)	Perfect Coutinuous	ঐনা কামলকলমি ।

In the future tense the forms are the following :—

English	Future tense	Manipuri
I shall blow (fire etc.)	Inuefinite	ঐনা কামগনী ।
I shall continue to blow (fire etc.)	... ...	ঐনা কামথগনী ।

The verbal root is /un(g)/ in the word /un(g)bə/ meaning 'Spinning' for example of a top.

English	Past tense	Manipuri
I spun	Indefinite	ঐনা উঙলম্পী ।
I was spinning	Continuous	ঐনা উঙলমলি ।
I had spun... ...	Perfect	ঐনা উঙলমলে ।
I had been spinning...	Perfect Continuous	ঐনা উঙলকলি ।

In the future tense the forms will be the following :—

English	Future tense	Manipuri
I shall spin...	Indefinite	উংগনী ।
I shall continue to spin......	... ...	ঐনা উংথগনী ।

iv) The verb l root is /kʌk/ (কক) in the word /kʌkpə/ (ককপ) (not / kʌkbə /) meaning 'cutting'.

English	Present tense	Manipuri
I cut	Indefinite	ঐনা ককই ।
I am cutting	Continuous	ঐনা ককলি ।
I have cut ...	Perfect	ঐনা ককলে ।
I have been cutting...	Perfect continuous	ঐনা ককলকলি

The past tense forms will be the following :—

English	Past tense	Manipuri
I cut	Indefinite	ঐনা ককলম্মী ।
I was cutting ...	Continuous	ঐনা ককলবলি ।
I had cut ...	Perfect	ঐনা ককলবলে ।
I had been cutting.....	Perfect continuous	ঐনা কক্লম্মি ।

The forms of the future will be as follows:—

English	Future tense	Manipuri
I shall cut ...	Indefinite	ঐনা ককলি ।
I shall continue to cut...	... ...	ঐনা ককথগনী ।

Now, from the point of view of teaching, it can be safely concluded that for Manipuri, the form is predictive, but not for English.

6.6. One more point to be mentioned here is the Manipuri concept of perfection. Any time adverbial referring to the past may often collocate with the present perfect tense in informal speech :—

	English	Manipuri
e. g.	I have done it.	ঐনা মসি তৌরে।
	I did it yesterday.	ঐনা মসি ঙরাং তৌরম্মী।

Although my purpose is to establish the tense system in relation to time I consider it necessary to point out the differences in the two kinds of suffixes—one with /r/ and the other with / l / The examples here show the distribution of the two, /r/ occurs after vowel and / l / occurs after consonants (The simple reason is that / r / & / l / were allophones of the seme phoneme / l / in Manipuri although nowadays / r / is one of the (so-called) 'exotic phonemes' in the language. However it is not my purpose here to go into the details of the phonemic analysis of the language. Hence I think, it should be going beyond my scope to explain these points here).

6.7. A word of caution is necessary. In Manipuri, sometimes, the Present Tense Form is used to express an action in the Past. The following examples will illustrate the point—

(A) (1) নঙ নহান কৈথেল কারুক্রা ? (Did you go to the market day before yesterday ?)

(2) নঙ নহান কৈথেল কাত্র ? (Do you go to the market day before yesterday ?)*

In spoken Manipuri, such forms are common. Again, the following examples are worth noting—

(B) (1) নঙ ঙরাং মিতিংদা রা ঙাঙ্বা ? (Did you speak in the meeting yesterday ?)

(2) নঙ ঙরাং মিতিংদা রা ঙাঙব্রা ? (Do you speak in the meeting yesterday ?)*

In all the examples, the time reference is past. But, the tense form in A (II) and B (II) are generally treated as Present. There are certain cases in which the present tense form is preferred—

(i) ঙরাংগী লিলাদ নুঙাইব্রা ?

(ii) নহান উশবতা নঙ উতি চাব্রা ?

(iii) নঙবু হাকুম বৃন্দাবন চংপ য়াঙব্রনে ? etc.

In Manipuri the past tense and the present tense forms of the verb are often the same Although there are two separate forms of the verb, the present form is often used to express the past time. The following examples illustrate the point—

Present tense : Present Time

English : Do you go there ? Yes, I do (go).
Manipuri : নঙ মহুদা চৎপ্রা । উম, চৎলি ।

Past Tense . Past Time

English : Did you go there ? Yes, I did (went)
Manipuri : নঙ মফুদা চৎপ্রা/চৎলমব্রা ? উম, চৎলি/চৎলম্মী ।

Non-past Tense . Future Time

English : Will you go there ? Yes, I'lll.
Manipuri : নঙ মফুদা চৎকব্রা ? উম চৎকনী ।

Present Tense : Present Time

English : Do you eat fruit ? Yes I do (General
Manipuri : নঙ উহি চাব্রা ? উম চাই । Statement)

Past Tense : Past Time

English : Did you eat fruit yesterday ? Yes, I did.
Manipuri : নঙ ঙরাং উ:হ চাব্রা ? উম চায় ।

Non-past : Future Time

English : Will you eat fruit tomorrow ? Yes I 'll
Manipuri : নঙ উহৈ চাগদ্রা ? উম, চাবো ।

Present Tense : Present Time

English : Is there a meeting now ? Yes, there is,
Manipuri : হৌজিকপু মিতিং লৈব্রা ? উম, লৈ ।

Past Tense : Past Time

English : Was there a meeting yesterday ? Yes, there was.
Manipuri : ঙরাংবু মিতিং লৈব্রা ? উম, লৈ ।

Non-past : Future Time

English : Will there be a meeting tomorrow ? Yes, there will be. (a meeting)
Manipuri : হয়েংবু মিতিং লৈগদ্রা ? উম লৈনি ।

Present Tense ; Present Time

English : Do they sing ? Yes, they do.
Manipuri : মখোয় ঈশৈ শকপ্রা ? উম শকই ।

Past Tense : Past Time

English : Did they sing last year ? Yes, they did,
Manipuri : মখোয়বু হান্নম ঈশৈ শকপ্রা ? উম শকই ।

Non-past : Future Time

English : Will they sing next year ? Yes, they 'll.
Manipuri : মখোয়বু নোংমৈ ঈশৈ শকদ্রা ? উম, শকলগনি ।

Manipuri uses the suffixes প্রা or ব্রা according to the environment where they occur to form the interrogative structure. When proceded by a voiceless sound, it is প্রা and when preceded by a voiced sound it is ব্রা. There are the past tense forms like চৎলুব্রা ? চৎখিব্রা, চাখিব্রা, চারুবরা শক-খিবরা, শকলুবরা etc. But in common use 'চৎপ্রা, চাবরা তৌবরা শকপ্রা etc. are used both in the Past Tense and the present tense. This is clearly distinct from the usage in English where the past tense is clearly different from the present tense. Manipuri speakers speaking English are likely to make unconscious mistakes in the use of tense. This is predictable to a certain extent.

Unlike English, Manipuri has a distinct form of Future. কনি or গনি expresses future time. The same principle applies here too ; when preceded by a voiceless sound it is কনি, when preceded by a voiced sound, it is গনি।

So, constructions like—'I go yesterday', * 'I have received your letter yesterday'*—which are often used by Manipuri students learning English should not be considered as freak. The underlying principle is proabbly the tense structure in the mother tongue where present tense and past tense have the same form. To a Manipuri speaker the reply to the questions—Do you go ? and 'Did you go'—are the same. It is either 'চৎলি' in the affirmative or চৎতে in the negative.

নহ চৎপ্রা ?	=	চৎ ল or চৎতে।
নহ ঙরাং চৎপ্রা ?	=	চৎলি or চৎতে।

In negative constructions, the same principle works.

Present

English	:	Don't you eat fish ?	No/Yes
Manipuri	:	নহ ঙা চাব্রা ?	চাব/চাদে।

Past

English : Didn't you eat fish yerterd y ? No/Yes
Manipuri : নঙ ঙরাং ঙা চাত্রা ? চার/চাদে।

Non past : Future Time

English : Won't you eat fish ? No/Yes
Manipuri : নঙ ঙা চারোইদ্রা ? চানি/চারোই।

So, in Manipuri the past and the present tense forms may be simlar Reproduced below is an extract from 'Langlol', of Late W. Madhovram, Franslated by Late W. Yumjao Singh into Modern Maniruri.

"শক ১৭০২ ওবদা কত্ত'। মহারাজগী মজাইবুঙো নবানন্দ যুবরাজনা নোংচুপলোমদা হিয়াং হিরেল য়ানব লেংই * মতুদা ময়েংব বৃন্দাবন য়াহেংব মাধবরাম অনি অসি য়াওজেমই। খোঙকম অসিদা থা অনি চংনা নারক উরকত্তা হি চিংই* ।"

In a real grammatical construction the verb 'লেংই' should be 'লেংলম্মী' and the verb 'চিংই' should be চিংলম্মী / চিংখি।

Here is also some extracts rrom Dr. E. Dinamani Singh's book 'য়াইরাকপম চাউব' -

"নীংব কায়না হলকখিবসু য়াওখি; অমাম্বা মতাংদা নীংব থংনা হললকখি। মীওই তরা'ম কুন'মদা মফম মতম চানা অমসুং চাদনা হংখনিনা মখল মথা য়ামলব মত পীনবিরকই। ...."

I wonder whether it should have been 'পীনবিরকখি'— for the orthodox grammarians. But the Manipuri language allows it—and it is linguistically will accepted.

Let us have a look at the following extract from 'অচাইব লৈ' of Shri E. Nilakanta Singh—

"...... মহাকনা মৈতৈ সাহিত্যবু মশক অমা ওনহনকই*। থোক্নোক অম পীরকই*। খোঙচৎ অম তাকলকই*। মহাক য়াওদনা মৈতৈ সাহিত্যগী মরমদা খনব ওইথোক্তবনী। নোংঙাক্লমদাই অযুক্কী নীঙখিজরা অহু প্রমান

অমদা শিক্ষিনগে হায়রবদি ঐথোয়না চাউবনা মৈতৈ সাহিত্যগী লোংতাক-লমদাইগী কক্ষব অহু পীব'রমই* হায়রবদা লাক্লোই। ...."

What makes me interested in it is the series of verbs—ওনহল্লকই, পীরকই. তাকলকই, and পীবীরমই etc. which appear to be grammatically inconsistent. The orthodox grammarian is likely to prefer—ওনহল্লমই, পীরমই, তাকলম্মী, পীবীরমই to ওনহল্লকই......etc.

But once more it has to be said that the language is quite acceptable and in the language it is commonly used. So, in spite of the existence of the three categories of tenses for the present, the past and the future, under certain circumstances the present tense form is used to express past time. In other words, the present tense form is used for the past tense form also. Making a little deviation from the real objective of the book it is to be noted that such usage is not uncommon in some tribal languages of Manipur.

In the Tangkhul language the literal translation of—

English (i) "Do you there ? Yes, I do"—is
Tangkhul "Na chili vala ? Mah I vaya"

The past form—

English (ii) Did you go there ? Yes I did"

literally translated as —

Tangkhul—"Na chili vasala ? Ma I vaya"

But, ordinarily it can be used as—

"Na chili vala ?' in stead of 'Na chili vasala ?' The reply in either case is— "Mah I vaya".

The present and past forms are used in the same way under certain circumstances. The following are same sentences in some of the languages—.

Present Tense

(i)	English	=	Do you go there ?	Yes, I do.
(ii)	Manipuri	=	নঙ মহুদা চৎলো ?	উম চৎলি।
(iii)	Kuki	=	Hia khu nache em ?	Heng ie ka chei.
(iv)	Tangkhul	=	Na chili vala ?	Ma I vaya.
(v)	Mizo	=	I kal em ?	Aw ka kal.

Past Tense

(i)	English	=	Did you go there ?	Yes, I did.
(ii)	Manipuri	=	নঙ মহুদা চৎলম্বু/চৎপ্রা?	উম চৎলি।
(iii)	Kuki	=	Hia khu na nache em ? Or Hia khu nache em	Heng ie ka na che ie.
(iv)	Thangkhul	=	Na chili vasala ? Or Na chili vala ?	Ma I vaya. Ma I vaya.
(v)	Mizo	=	I kal em ?	Aw ka kal.

Future Tense

(i)	English	=	Will you go there ?	Yes, I 'll.
(ii)	Manipuri	=	নঙ মহুদা চৎকদ্রা ?	উম চৎকনী।
(iii)	Kuki	=	Hia khu nache ding ham ?	Heng ie kachi. ding ahi.
(iv)	Tangkhul	=	Na chili varala ?	Ma I vara.
(v)	Mizo	=	Kal dawn em ?	Aw kakal ang.

In the Tangkhul language, the particle expressing the Past Tense is—'sa'—as in the sentence—'Na chili vasala ?' (Did you go there ?) for which the Present Tense form is —'Na chili vala ?'' From the strictly grammatical point of view,—'sa'—is necessary for the Past Tense form. So, the tense structure stands as —

—Present—

English	=	Do you eat fish ?
Tangkhul	=	Na khaisaila ?

—Past—

English	=	Did you eat fish ?
Tangkhul	=	Na khaisai sala ?

— Future —

English	=	Will you eat fish ?
Tangkhul	=	Na khai saira ?

However in ordinary language, in certain contexts, the construction—'Na khaisaila ?' is used in place of—'Na khaisalsala ? which is the Past Tense form. The same principle, seems to work both in Kuki and Mizo. In certain situation, the construction—'......nache em ?' is also used in place of 'na nache em ?' The particle indicating Past tense is—'na' —but again in ordinary day to day language, the present tense form is also used.

In Mizo, the Present Tense form and the Past Tense forms are the same in certain cases. e.g.

—Present Tense—

English	Mizo
(i) Do you eat fish ? Yes, I do.	=Sanghá isi em ? Aw ka ei
(ii) Do you sing ? Yes, I do.	—Hla isa em ? Aw, ka sa
(iii) It is raining.	=Ruah a sur.

—Past Tense—

English

(i) Did you eat fish ? Yes, I did=Sangbu, iei cha ? Aw, ka sa.

(ii) Did you sing ? Yes I did. =Hla isa em ? Aw ka sa,

(iii) It was raining. =Ruah a sur.

This use of the present tense form for the past tense has far reaching consequences in learning English. What appears to be a simple usage, causes an important aspect in the teaching and learning process of English. The utility of contrastive Analysis comes in here. The usage is not in conformity with the usage in English where the Present and Past tenses have separate forms.

I have made some digression here from the path I ought to follow. The case study is primarily a contrastive Analysis of English and Manipuri specially in the area of Time, Tense and Aspect. However I feel tempted to explore some areas of some tribal languages, although my knowledge and ability in there areas do not, in the least justify my intrusion into this territory. But two factors have weighed heavily—the fact that these languages are generally kept together in the Kuki-Chin group and the similarity of the tense-system of these languages with that of Manipuri. Very often students both Manipuri and tribals make mistake in the use of the tenses. I am very much inclined to assume that mother tongue interference has a part in this area, though this is not the only factor. The similarity of the mistakes that students make tend to suggest that some underlying principle is responsible for the errors.

Contrastive Analysis is likely to bring out the difficulty areas for teaching English as a second language. It is likely to predict the probable areas where students are likely to make mistakes. The errors are predictable to a certain extant and it is likely to be useful to both teachers and students alike in the field of teaching and learning the English language.

Chapter VII
CONCLUSION

My attempt has been to analyse the concept of tense in relation to the concept of time in the two languages – English and Manipuri All I have done is only a rough analysis which needs refinement. There are different subtle areas in both the languages which I have not been able to scrutinise. When I did not mention such usages as "Attitudinal Past" 'Hypothetical Past' etc. it does not mean that these are not in Manipuri. The following examples will show some of the areas :—

English	Manipuri
I shall go	ঐ/ঐনা চৎকনী।
I should have gone	ঐ/ঐনা চৎলমগদবনী।
He should have seen her, but he didn't.	ম/মহাক্না মাবু উকম থোকপনী অদুবু উরমদে।

(Past obligation or advisability unfulfilled)

He should have arrived by now.	মাহৌজিক থংলম হায়রিনা।
He must have arrived by now.	মা হৌজিক্কি থংলম্মনী।

The mechanism for the expression of time and tense is slightly different from that of English. In Manipuri it is more or less systematic although variations are here and there. But the English system and the Manipuri system do not go together. Here exception becomes the rule. The academic formulation of the tense system does not work here. The importance of contrastive analysis also comes up here again. Manipuri speakers learning English are likely to make mistakes in the tense construction It is not uncommon to hear such sentence.

(i) * Do you come here yesterday ?
(ii) * You come here yesterday ?
(iii) * Last year's picnic very good, ha ?
(iv) * You attend college last year ?
(v) * You attened college last year. ha ?

The general rule in English is that there should be concord between the Tense of the Verb and the time expressed. In Manipuri the present tense form is used for past time also.

e. g. Do you come now ? নঙ হৌজিক লাকপ্র ?
Did you come yesterday ? নঙ ঙরাং লাকপ্র, লাক্লমত্রা ?

It is true that in English also one tense can be used to express different times. Sometimes present tense can be used to express past time. But it is only in certain cases. In Manipuri the above construction is fairly common. So, some errors in the tense construction may be due to this.

A systematic and careful Contrastive Analysis will show the area of difference between two languages—the mother tongue and the Second Language. Manipuri verbs

have the necessary forms for the three tense forms. But under certain context, the Present Tense form and the Past Tense forms are the same. This will be a useful tool to the teachers and also the learners for a better understanding of the language. As has been referred to earlier, Robert Lado thinks that these elements that are similar to his native language will be simple for him (the language learner) and those elements that are different will be difficult. An understanding of these similarities and differences will enable the teacher to handle the situation with ease. A contrastive study of the sound pattern of English and Manipuri shows the areas where the Manipuri students are likely to have problem. There are many phonemic sounds of English which are not used in Manipuri. Manipuris hardly distinguish the long vowel from the short and as such it is a predictable area. In spite of the claim of W. R. Lee that language is not a collection of separable and self sufficient parts, it is generally accepted that the sound pattern in any language is the result of collocation of phonemes. The moment, a Manipuri speaks English, it can be expected that he will have problem in the pronounciation of the sound of 'a' in words like bat, cat hat, lad, man, famine, family, fancy, etc. His 'rain' and 'pen' will have no distinction. The fact is that Manipuris do not have the half-open sound / æ / and also the vowel glide. In consonants, there are many sounds which cause problems for the Manipuri students learning English. Most Manipuris are likely to pronounce the two words—'sip and 'ship' in the same way.

W.R. Lee—ibid.

There is no distinction between the two sounds when a Manipuri speaks. The simple reason is that Manipuri language does not have two sounds. The same is true of cluster like 'sk' in the word 'ask' Where a Manipuri is likely to pronounce as 'aks'. A knowledge of such differences will be provided by a systematic Contrastive analysis of the two languages. The teacher will be better equipped with this knowledge in teaching the students. Pit Corder contends that 'we cannot assert that any particular feature of the target language which differs from the mother tongue is necessarily inhtrently difficult to learn'. This is only partly correct; but the problem is that a particular feature in the target language not found in the mother tongue is generally substituted by another feature (in the mother tongue) which is close to it. That is why Manipuris use the phosive sound / th / for the English fricative sound / θ / and also / ph / for / f /. Once we are aware of the difficulty areas we are better prepared to make teaching more effective.

It is to be pointed out that CIEFL in its Monograph No. 7 pointed out the areas of difficulty for Manipuris in speaking English. The following is an extract from the chart :

Discriminations in Prescriptive standard Indian.		
1. i: / i	as in	beat / bit
2. u: / u		pool / pull

Pit Corder—The Significance of learner's Errors—IRAL Vol. 161—170, 1967.

3. e:—ei / ɛ	,,	main / men
4. ɛ / æ	,,	men / man
5. ər / ar	,,	further / farther
6. P [ph] / f	,,	pan / fan
7. b / v	,,	berry / very
8. s / ʃ	,,	sip / ship
9. j / ʒ	,,	ledger / leisure
10. z / ʒ	,,	visit / vision
*11. s / ç	,,	search / church
12. v / w	,,	vest / west
*13. r / l	,,	read / lead

I don't think that Manipuris have any broblem in discriminating / r / and / l / (No. 13) Quite interestingly the Monograph does not include the following—

(1) e :—ei / æ as in main / man

(2) ai / æ ,, mine / man.

However, for No. 1 Manipuris have definite problem. Glide, we hardly use and long / e / most people do not use. Generally vowel length is not maintained. / æ / in 'man' is a difficult area for most Indians, including the Manipuris We have these problems on the phonological level. Proper Contrastive Analysis will reveal more areas not only in phonemic sounds but in connected speech. It will be helpful in teaching English as a second language.

In the field of syntax, my attention has been focussed on the area of Time, Tense and expect. Although there is no claim to conclusive finding, my assumiption is that at

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ÇIEFL Monogrâph No. 7—The Sound Sysrem of Indian English, 1976.

...some mistakes the students make are due to the interference from the mother tongue. In this context I have shown similarity in usage between Manipuri and some tribal languages. Some of the mistakes of the tribal students in the areas of tense usage may be attributed to this. Since there has been no exhaustive contrastive Analysis between English and these languages, whatever conclusion I have drawn has to be treated as tentative. Whatever may be the finding, I feel, as I have contended earlier, that contrastive Analysis has a great pedagogic implication in language teaching. In Manipur it will be highly useful in teaching English.

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